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Summary record of the 14th meeting
Held at Headquarters, New York, on Monday, 2 November 1998, at 10 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. Macedo ..... (Mexico)
later: Mr. Hrbac (Vice-Chairman) ..... (Slovakia)
later: Mr. Macedo (Chairman) ..... (Mexico)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Agenda item 85: Comprehensive review of the whole question of peacekeeping operations in all their aspects (*continued*) (A/53/127; A/C.4/53/L.8)

1. **Mr. Zaki** (Egypt) said that his delegation associated itself with the statement made by the representative of Jordan on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement and, in connection with the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of United Nations peacekeeping operations, recalled that the General Assembly was the organ which had set out the principles and the concept of peacekeeping operations when, in 1956, the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) had been sent to the Sinai Peninsula to withstand aggression against Egypt. Although the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security lay with the Security Council, the General Assembly must also play the role assigned to it in the Charter of the United Nations.

2. Egypt supported the peacekeeping efforts of the Secretary-General and would develop cooperation with the United Nations and countries which contributed troops to United Nations peacekeeping operations. It welcomed the establishment in 1998 of two new operations, in Sierra Leone and the Central African Republic, and noted the trend in Africa towards the settlement of conflicts, when possible, through the joint efforts of the African countries. It should be emphasized that, in carrying out that type of operation, action should not be limited to the subregional level, but that all countries of the continent should be involved in the process. At the same time, that should not be interpreted as an alternative to international action and a pretext for the international community to withdraw from resolving problems which existed. The role of the United Nations was not confined to military operations. It could also play a useful role in the provision of humanitarian assistance, the disarming of warring parties, the demobilization and social rehabilitation of former members of armed formations, mine clearance and the restoration of the normal work of State institutions, monitoring respect for human rights and the carrying out of other functions.

3. With the increased scale and number of peacekeeping operations, the costs were also increasing. Despite the financial crisis which the United Nations was experiencing, it was essential to ensure adequate funding of peacekeeping operations and to take steps to reimburse troop-contributing countries. It was therefore important that all countries should, on a regular basis, pay their assessed contributions to the fund for the financing of peacekeeping operations, all the more so since it was not a political question or a matter of choice, but their legal obligation.

4. His delegation was following with great attention the process of the reorganization of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and would make its comments in that connection at the meeting of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations.

5. **Mr. Hong Je Ryong** (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) said that his delegation associated itself with the statement made by the representative of Jordan on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement. It had consistently maintained that United Nations peacekeeping operations should be carried out in strict compliance with the principles of respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States and non-interference in their internal affairs, as stated in the Charter of the United Nations, and on the basis of the traditional fundamental principles of peacekeeping such as the consent of the parties, impartiality and the non-use of force except in self-defence. The Security Council should pay much more attention to ensuring the observance of those principles so as to prevent peacekeeping operations from being used by certain countries for their own political and military purposes.

6. The functions and role of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations should be strengthened in the light of the changes in the international situation. In that connection, the Special Committee should not confine itself to deliberating only on working matters concerning peacekeeping operations, but should also assess whether or not United Nations activities for the maintenance of international peace and security were in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and make policy recommendations to the General Assembly.

7. The mobilization of forces, equipment and other resources needed for peacekeeping operations should be done within the framework of United Nations standby arrangements. Any action aimed at establishing special forces outside that system and giving them the name "United Nations" was not acceptable. Many countries had expressed concern at the move by certain countries to establish a standby high-readiness brigade with a title including the words "United Nations", without a relevant United Nations resolution. His delegation shared that concern.

8. That question remained a topical one for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea since the United States still insisted that the United States forces in South Korea were the "United Nations Command". The "United Nations Command" was nothing more than a bogus organization from both the legal and the practical standpoint.

The United States claimed that the "United Nations Command" had been established pursuant to Security Council resolution 84 (1950). At that time the United States had introduced a draft resolution aimed at using the United Nations to legitimize its participation in the Korean War and had engineered its adoption in the absence of the former Soviet Union from the meeting of the Security Council. That had constituted a clear violation of Article 27, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations.

9. That illegally adopted resolution contained only a recommendation that all Members of the United Nations providing military forces or other assistance should "make such forces and other assistance available to a unified command under the United States of America". Although there was no reference in the resolution to the establishment of a "United Nations Command", the United States, in violation of that resolution, called the unified command under it the "United Nations Command".

10. If the "United Nations Command" was a real entity, as alleged by the United States, it meant that the United Nations had its own armed forces and command in South Korea. If that had been the case, the command should have been placed under the control of the United Nations and not that of the United States, which was only one of the States Members of the Organization. At present, the United Nations had no political, military or financial control over the "United Nations Command". In that connection, the attention of members of the Committee should be drawn to the Final Document of the Meeting of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, held in Durban, South Africa, from 2 to 3 September 1998, in which it was emphasized that the name of the United Nations should not be used by individual States or groups in their activities without a relevant United Nations resolution since the United Nations was a universal international organization comprising 185 sovereign States.

11. **Mr. Kafando** (Burkina Faso) said that United Nations peacekeeping operations had been very successful. Burkina Faso had made its modest contribution to the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic by sending a contingent of its troops.

12. His delegation had read with interest the report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (A/53/127). The report contained many proposals and recommendations that merited due consideration. The standby arrangements were also of great importance for global peacekeeping operations. All conflict situations required a quick response, since the effectiveness of measures to settle disputes depended in large part on prompt action.

13. In his report entitled "The causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa" (A/52/871-S/1998/318), the Secretary-General correctly emphasized that African leaders, the international community and the United Nations had failed the people of Africa by not adequately addressing the causes of conflict, by not doing enough to ensure peace and by their repeated inability to create the conditions for sustainable development. Peace could be guaranteed only if the international community seriously committed itself to removing the basic causes of conflict situations. Peacekeeping operations should not be a substitute for such efforts.

14. In his statement at the fifty-third session of the General Assembly on 21 September 1998, the President of Burkina Faso, speaking in his capacity as the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), said that the failure of the international community's efforts to restore peace in Somalia and prevent genocide in Rwanda had demonstrated the limitations of the United Nations and that the African countries must themselves search for a solution to their problems. All conflict situations had a tendency to spread and posed a serious threat to peace and international security, and they therefore required equal attention.

15. In spite of its success in Angola and Western Sahara and in its humanitarian operations, the United Nations had lately, at least in some cases, acted indecisively in Africa. With a view to complementing United Nations efforts, OAU had in 1993 established a mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution. Such subregional organizations as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development had contributed to the settlement of several African conflicts. A few days earlier in Abuja, ECOWAS had begun work on the establishment of a mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution and peacekeeping. At the initiative of Burkina Faso, joint military exercises, entitled "Kompienga Unity 98", for the purpose of training personnel for peacekeeping operations was held from 16 to 21 April 1998; the armed forces of Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, the Niger, Nigeria, Togo and Chad had taken part in the exercises, in which a great deal of attention had been given to humanitarian issues. All those efforts complemented United Nations actions, which were of paramount importance in the maintenance of international peace and security.

16. **Mr. Al-Otaibi** (Kuwait) said that peacekeeping operations were an important part of United Nations efforts to prevent and settle conflicts. The role of the United Nations

had changed and now included humanitarian assistance, monitoring of human rights, law enforcement by civilian police, and cooperation with government authorities.

17. In the conduct of any peacekeeping operation, a clearly defined mandate and order of command were essential; it was also necessary to ensure adequate financing and closer cooperation between troop-contributing countries and the Security Council. The role of the United Nations in the timely prevention of conflicts and in preventive diplomacy should be strengthened. His delegation was pleased that a number of countries had signed standby agreements with the United Nations.

18. The United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission (UNIKOM) monitored the ceasefire regime and disarmament in accordance with Security Council decisions. It contributed to the reduction of tension in the border area and stability in the entire region. Nevertheless, the actions of Iraq, which refused to implement the resolutions of United Nations bodies and cooperate with the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM), were hindering the complete elimination of tension and the restoration of stability in the region. In that regard, the presence of UNIKOM in the region remained vital.

19. Financial support for UNIKOM was of great importance, and Member States should therefore pay their assessed contributions on time. Kuwait not only rendered financial support but also provided the Mission with civilian, administrative and military services in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions. It also maintained close contact with UNIKOM representatives and worked together with it to solve problems as they arose. In conclusion, his delegation wished to thank Argentina, Austria, Bangladesh and Germany for their contributions to UNIKOM.

20. **Mr. Nega** (Ethiopia) said that United Nations peacekeeping activities continued to be an indispensable instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. The report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (A/53/127) provided a comprehensive review of peacekeeping operations in all their aspects. The debate during the Special Committee's 1998 session had shown that Member States continued to attach great importance to United Nations peacekeeping activities. The recommendations contained in the report reflected Member States' agreed views and positions and should be fully implemented.

21. The success of United Nations peacekeeping operations depended, first and foremost, on the observance of their guiding principles at all stages — from the establishment of missions to their termination. Such guiding principles included respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and non-interference in their internal affairs, as well as the need for the concerned State's consent to the implementation of the mission.

22. The United Nations had the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. At the same time, the experience gained over the past few years had demonstrated the important role that regional organizations could play in the prevention and resolution of conflicts in their respective regions. Cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter was essential for the maintenance of international peace and security. His delegation attached paramount importance to cooperation between the United Nations and OAU. In that regard, he noted that, in spite of the positive steps that the two organizations had taken to strengthen their ties and cooperation, much remained to be done in order to achieve the desired goal. Cooperation between the United Nations and OAU in conflict prevention and peacekeeping should focus on strengthening the institutional capability of OAU through mobilization and provision of financial, logistical and technical support. To that end, Ethiopia strongly urged Member States, in particular those with the ability and resources to do so, to contribute to the Trust Fund established for that purpose. His delegation noted with satisfaction the measures that had so far been taken, especially those relating to the organization of training seminars, the establishment of a United Nations liaison office with OAU and the mechanism that had been put in place for regular consultations between the secretariats of the two organizations.

23. The role of the United Nations in such cooperation should not be limited exclusively to that of a clearing house; the United Nations should also be involved in the formulation of relevant policies and guidelines as well as the evaluation and monitoring of activities in the field.

24. The financing of United Nations peacekeeping operations continued to be a matter of serious concern. Non-payment of assessed contributions jeopardized the Organization's ability to fulfil its peacekeeping obligations. In that regard, his delegation shared the view that all outstanding contributions should be paid in full and at once.

25. His delegation was also gravely concerned at the delays in the reimbursement of costs to troop-contributing countries, as well as the costs for contingent-owned property. Ethiopia strongly urged the Secretariat to expedite the reimbursement of such costs in accordance with the new

methodology approved by the General Assembly. In the reimbursement of costs, the special situation of developing countries, including the least developed countries, should be taken into consideration.

26. His delegation welcomed the steps that had been taken to replace gratis personnel, which should not have negative repercussions on the effective functioning of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. With regard to the use of civilian police in United Nations peacekeeping operations, it was important to ensure transparency and a wider geographical base in the selection of civilian police at all levels.

27. The system of standby arrangements was a vital element for enhancing the capacity for rapid deployment of peacekeeping operations. However, it should be pointed out that the effective and full operation of the standby system required a broader base of contributions, in particular in terms of key specialized resources, such as airlift and sealift capability, logistical support and communications equipment.

28. **Mr. Osei** (Ghana), expressed support for the statement made by the delegation of Jordan on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and welcomed the report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations contained in document A/53/127. Ghana endorsed the view of the Special Committee that the United Nations bore the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Three years after attaining independence in 1960, Ghana had responded to the call of the Organization and had committed troops and resources to the United Nations peacekeeping operation in the then Belgian Congo. It remained an active participant in the Organization's peace efforts in all regions of the globe. Ghana, which was the fourth largest contributor in terms of troop numbers, considered that in order for the Organization to have the capacity to continue to support efforts aimed at ensuring international peace and security, its management and operations would have to be kept under continuous review. In view of the increasing security threat to the Organization's personnel in the field, the Ghanaian delegation made an urgent appeal for host countries and parties to conflicts to take steps to ensure their safety.

29. In the context of General Assembly resolution 51/231 of 13 June 1997, Ghana expressed the hope that the United Nations would give priority to developing troop-contributing countries in awarding contracts for goods and services. The Ghanaian delegation was also concerned about the worsening financial situation of the United Nations as a result of the non-payment of their assessed contributions by some Member States, and its effects on peacekeeping activities. It was worth recalling in that connection that such a degree of indebtedness in terms of contributions meant that it was not possible to pay off debts to small developing countries; therefore, Ghana urged all Member States to pay their assessed contributions in full, on time and without any conditions.

30. Ghana welcomed the Secretary-General's observation in his report on the work of the Organization (A/53/1) that cooperation with regional organizations was now an important aspect of its peacekeeping operations. The experience Ghana had acquired in peacekeeping in Africa had underscored the need to develop relations between the United Nations and the regional agencies, and to create mechanisms that would enhance that process.

31. **Mr. Shen Guofang** (China) said that United Nations peacekeeping activities had contributed significantly to the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts and international disputes. Over the past 50 years valuable experience of carrying out peacekeeping operations had been acquired, and at the same time useful lessons had been learned from failures. Over that period, a number of guiding principles had been developed which guaranteed the successful conduct of peacekeeping operations. They included observing the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, especially the principles of State sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States; following the three basic principles guiding peacekeeping operations, namely the consent of the parties concerned, strict neutrality and non-use of force except in self-defence; and settling disputes through peaceful means, such as good offices, mediation and negotiation.

32. A stable financial basis was necessary for the successful conduct of United Nations peacekeeping operations. In recent years, various peacekeeping operations had suffered owing to the non-payment of their assessed contributions by certain countries. China called on those countries, especially those with a significant amount of arrears, to pay their dues on time, in full and without any conditions. At the same time, China was against any country unilaterally setting a ceiling for its peacekeeping assessments, and also against the financial burden being shifted to the developing countries or discriminatory financial arrangements being imposed on them.

33. With regard to the decision reflected in General Assembly resolution 51/243 on the replacement of all gratis personnel by 28 February 1999, China expressed the hope that in the selection of candidates full consideration would be given to the balance between developing and developed

countries, with priority being granted to the candidates from those countries whose citizens had not hitherto been assigned to the Department of Peacekeeping Operations.

34. As for the civilian police, China was in favour of strengthening the work of that particular component of the operations, including increasing its staff. At the same time, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations should work out standards for the professional training of civilian police staff and help the developing countries to organize it so as to ensure their full participation in its activity.

35. Taking note of the decision contained in the recently adopted General Assembly resolution 53/12 on the rapidly deployable mission headquarters, China considered that in the current difficult financial situation faced by the United Nations and the relative scaling down of peacekeeping operations, the efforts to strengthen the rapid deployment capability should be focused on tapping the full potential of current mechanisms. Further improvement of the standby arrangement system would contribute to strengthening the rapid deployment capability of peacekeeping operations and encourage active participation in activities in that field by a significant number of member States, and would also guarantee their fairness and neutrality.

36. China supported the steps taken by regional organizations in strengthening their cooperation with the United Nations. However, in that area there were a number of very dangerous tendencies. For example, a certain regional organization had undertaken military intervention under the guise of maintaining regional peace, circumventing the Security Council. The major responsibility for maintaining world peace and security rested, under the Charter of the United Nations, with the Security Council, and it had the leading role to play in that area.

37. **Ms. Durrant** (Jamaica) said that her delegation, which had appreciated the opportunity to participate over the past year in the work of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, fully supported the proposals and recommendations contained in its report (A/53/127), and wished to associate itself with the statement made by the representative of Jordan on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. While there had been a decline in the past year in the total number of peacekeeping operations due to the winding down of several major operations, that did not mean that there were less conflicts in the world. Peacekeeping operations had originally been intended as a means of controlling dangerous regional conflicts and had involved such tasks as monitoring ceasefires, separating hostile parties and maintaining buffer zones, whereas today the proliferation of conflicts stemming from various factors had resulted in more complex missions, involving political, military and humanitarian activities simultaneously. Many of the conflicts in which the United Nations was called upon to intervene had military and political repercussions on neighbouring States, and often resulted in cross-border flows of refugees. In those new situations, military peacekeepers had been joined by civilian police officers, electoral observers and human rights monitors, who were carrying out a range of vital tasks, from peace-making to post-conflict peace-building. It had therefore become increasingly necessary to integrate and coordinate action aimed at addressing the root causes of violence and laying the foundations for a lasting peace.

38. In his report on the work of the Organization (A/53/1), the Secretary-General had pointed out that the intimate relationship between social justice, material well-being and peace must be taken into account if action was to be pursued far enough to prevent local conflicts from escalating and spilling over into the international arena. Her delegation wished to emphasize, in that respect, that development must be seen as an important corollary to peacekeeping and peace-making and must involve cooperation among the various United Nations agencies present in the field. Jamaica also attached particular importance to the role of preventive diplomacy and commended the successes achieved by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, and his personal representatives in situations of actual or potential conflict.

39. Her delegation welcomed the adoption by the General Assembly of resolutions providing for the phasing out by the end of February 1999 of the use of gratis personnel. However, she emphasized the importance of maintaining the operational capacity of the United Nations in the areas of planning, deploying and managing peacekeeping operations. She urged the Secretariat to take early and effective measures for the recruitment, on a broad geographical basis, of the staff required to replace the gratis personnel, and also to incorporate into the phase-out plan detailed transitional arrangements with a view to minimizing the cost of the process. She was concerned at the substantial reduction in the staffing of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), which was adversely affecting the ability of the Department to discharge effectively the duties assigned to it. She hoped that adequate measures would be taken at the earliest opportunity in order to alleviate the situation.

40. Regarding consultations with troop-contributing countries, Jamaica stressed the importance of institutionalized consultations between such countries and the Security Council. It supported the view that, whenever new missions were established or existing operations expanded, there must be consultations between the Security

Council and prospective troop-contributors at the earliest possible stage. As had been stated in the report of the Special Committee, the Security Council should adopt a flexible approach with respect to the form of those consultations and, rather than limiting the participants solely to troop-contributing countries, should include, whenever appropriate, other countries of the region.

41. Jamaica also supported the principle of the United Nations standby arrangements system, and believed that particular attention should be paid to initiatives aimed at strengthening the capacity and effectiveness of the United Nations in reacting rapidly to crisis situations. It therefore endorsed the establishment of the rapidly deployable mission headquarters. Her delegation also believed that civilian police were playing an increasingly important role in peacekeeping operations. At the same time, it was concerned that there were not as yet any clear guidelines for civilian police participating in peacekeeping operations, and it supported the view of the Special Committee that they should be drawn up at the intergovernmental level.

42. Given the complexities of peacekeeping operations, her delegation considered it imperative that peacekeepers should be adequately trained, prepared and equipped. Special emphasis should be placed on promoting awareness among peacekeepers of the cultural specificities of the country where the conflict was taking place. While there was agreement that the training of participants in peacekeeping operations should be the responsibility of troop-contributing countries, the United Nations must assist Member States to conduct effective training based on generally accepted standards. Jamaica welcomed in that connection the efforts of the DPKO training assistance teams to provide Member States with expertise in organizing training for their personnel. It also supported the proposed strategy for enhancing the capacity of African countries in the area of peacekeeping training, and believed that that project could be expanded to include other regions.

43. Jamaica shared the concern at the continuing delays in reimbursing troop costs and leases of contingent-owned equipment. Such delays caused hardship for all troop- and equipment-contributing countries, especially developing countries, and adversely affected the capacity of Member States to participate in peacekeeping operations. The practice of using contributions to the peacekeeping operations budget to fund regular budget activities must be discontinued. Jamaica also wished to reaffirm the important contribution made by regional arrangements and agencies to peacekeeping operations. In that connection, it urged the strengthening of cooperation between the United Nations and the relevant regional organizations, with due regard for their respective mandates, scope and composition, in order to increase the capacity of the international community in the maintenance of international peace and security. It noted the effective cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of American States, particularly in Haiti and Central America.

44. Jamaica supported the integration of the DPKO Lessons Learned Unit with the Policy and Analysis Unit. That measure would enhance the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations in the future. The new Unit should use in its work the conclusions drawn from the national experiences of troop-contributing countries. Her delegation also welcomed the announcement by the Under-Secretary-General of a new policy concerning the minimum age of participants in peacekeeping forces, which, it hoped, would serve as an example to police and armed forces throughout the world, given that children continued to be actively involved in armed conflicts, often themselves becoming victims.

45. **Mr. Margabandhu** (India) said that his delegation supported the statement made by the representative of Jordan on behalf of the States members of the Non-Aligned Movement. Peacekeeping operations had become the most visible form of activity carried out by the United Nations, which was not only a pioneer in the field but was constantly striving to develop and improve the way it conducted such operations. Since the first United Nations peacekeeping operation — the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), which had been established 40 years before — an extremely valuable body of experience had been acquired which reinforced the validity of the fund nental moral principle that peacekeeping was an act of diplomacy, not war, whose success was predicated on the consent of the parties. By their very nature, peacekeeping operations were interim measures that could neither substitute for negotiated political settlements nor be intrusive or interventionist.

46. Guided by that moral principle and by its commitment to international peace and security, India had over the years been a major troop contributor. Indian troops, military observers and civilian police personnel were currently serving in peacekeeping operations on every continent where United Nations peacekeepers were deployed.

47. While the Indian Government had supported United Nations peacekeeping activities as an article of faith, it believed also that in the final analysis lasting peace could be based only on economic growth and development. Many of the conflict situations requiring United Nations peacekeeping efforts had their roots in poverty, underdevelopment and inequality, which were persistent

destabilizing factors. In that connection, India hoped that while peacekeeping operations continued to receive attention, the international community would as a priority also make the necessary effort and devote enough resources to those wider goals and objectives.

48. He commended the report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (A/53/127), which contained a whole array of important recommendations on areas that would be further discussed by the General Assembly during its current session. It was particularly noteworthy that although there was an overall reduction in the scale of operations, the civilian police component was expanding, with the result that currently about a quarter of the personnel deployed in United Nations peacekeeping operations were civilian policemen. However, there were as yet no accepted guiding principles or agreed concepts that defined the parameters of their activities. His delegation supported the recommendation that that issue should be considered in 1999 and that there should be substantive intergovernmental discussions about it during the current session. It also supported the recommendation that a broad geographical base that took into account the sizes of the contingents from the various contributing countries should be used in selecting civilian police commissioners and appointing other senior police personnel for peacekeeping operations. Since the meetings of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations in April 1998, there had been some progress towards solving that problem, and his delegation hoped that the trend towards a broad geographical base in senior appointments would be further consolidated.

49. Another important aspect of peacekeeping operations was the need to develop uniform rules of engagement for any given peacekeeping operation. The United Nations flag was a common legacy and everyone serving under it should be governed by the same rules. His delegation intended to pursue the issue further. Also, there was a need for the uniform, standardized rates of compensation in the event of death or disability decided on in General Assembly resolution 51/218 E to be extended to all cases of death or disability suffered by participants in United Nations peacekeeping operations. He noted that the participants in the Twelfth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Durban in 1998 had also taken that view. It was regrettable that financial difficulties were hindering proper implementation of United Nations peacekeeping. He was convinced that the United Nations, as the only universal organization with indisputable authority and also priceless experience in peacekeeping, would maintain its leading role in conducting peacekeeping operations throughout the world.

50. **Mr. Winn** (Myanmar) said that despite the noticeable trend towards a reduction in the scale of peacekeeping operations, they would continue to be needed. Current peacekeeping operations had become more complex and multidimensional, whence the need for strict observance of the principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, including respect for countries' sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence. Also, the basic principles of peacekeeping, such as consent of the parties involved, impartiality and the non-use of force except in self-defence, must be upheld. It was no less important that peacekeeping operations should have clearly defined mandates and objectives.

51. The United Nations could not carry out its peacekeeping operations successfully without adequate financial resources. Thus, his delegation had noted with concern that the financial crisis confronting the United Nations had affected the peacekeeping budget through the practice of "borrowing" money from peacekeeping accounts. Under Article 17 of the Charter, States Members of the United Nations had an obligation to pay their dues in full, on time and without conditions, as his own country had always done with its assessed contributions.

52. In the context of the ongoing United Nations reform process, it was vital to maintain and improve the Organization's ability to plan, deploy and manage current and future peacekeeping operations effectively. His delegation therefore commended the Secretary-General's efforts to restructure the Department of Peacekeeping Operations in order to enhance its capacity and, while concurring with the report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (A/53/127), emphasized the need for continuing consultations between troop-contributing countries and the Security Council. Moreover, it was equally important to ensure participation in those consultations by prospective troop-contributing countries at the earliest possible stage, to enable them to come to an informed decision on participation. Also, consideration should be given to the possibility of including the "host" countries in any such consultations.

53. Myanmar had been participating in United Nations peacekeeping operations since 1958, and believed that one of the key factors for improving their effectiveness and strengthening the capacity for rapid response was the system of standby arrangements. His delegation noted with appreciation the efforts of the United Nations to develop the system beyond the 77 Member States already included. Implementing the system effectively would accelerate deployment of United Nations peacekeeping operations, especially in emergency situations. The fundamental

parameters of the standby arrangement system must be considered and defined, so as to provide Member States with an opportunity to participate in and support United Nations peacekeeping operations. All offers by Member States to participate in such operations should be considered.

54. Given the increasing demand for civilian police personnel in United Nations peacekeeping operations, it was essential to develop, as soon as possible, agreed guidelines on the principles governing the role of such personnel in those operations. At the same time, it was his delegation's view that peacekeeping operations were not in themselves solutions to the problems that led to conflict, nor could they be used as a substitute for addressing those root causes. Rather, economic and social development was needed if viable peace was to be achieved. Also, all aspects of the question of establishing rapidly deployable mission headquarters must be considered in the light of the financial implications of doing so. Recently, there had been increasing participation by regional organizations activities to address conflicts. While noting the importance of expanding cooperation between the United Nations and such organizations, the delegation of Myanmar believed that such cooperation should be implemented on the basis of Chapter VIII of the Charter.

55. **Mr. Skrypko** (Belarus) said that his delegation associated itself with the statement made by the representative of Jordan on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement. In view of the importance of addressing the root causes of conflicts, his country was in favour of attributing a predominantly preventive character to United Nations peacekeeping activities and developing a comprehensive system of early warning, as well as more active recourse to the political instruments envisaged in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations. His delegation shared the opinion expressed by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization (A/53/1) that conflict prevention should be one of the Organization's deepest commitments. Peacekeeping operations in themselves could not be viewed as the settlement of conflicts and should not be a substitute for measures to address the root causes of conflicts. They should rather be used as a temporary mechanism for the prevention and containment of conflicts. In that context, Belarus supported the integrated concept of "preventive peace-building" put forward by the Secretary-General, envisaging various efforts to promote development with the aim of attacking the root causes of conflicts.

56. The successful mission of the Secretary-General to achieve a peaceful settlement to the situation in Iraq and the recent de-escalation of tension around Kosovo had given a strong impulse to the strengthening of the preventive component within United Nations peace efforts. The resolution of those situations by political means had been a vivid demonstration of the need to limit the use of armed force in the Organization's peace-building efforts as far as possible and to utilize to a greater extent the peaceful instruments for the settlement of conflicts.

57. In current conditions, when regional and subregional conflicts were on the rise, the role of regional arrangements and agencies in the sphere of the prevention and settlement of conflicts had increased significantly. The Republic of Belarus welcomed such enhanced activity on the part of the regional arrangements, which in many cases had better capabilities than the United Nations to react effectively to emerging conflicts in the "hot spots" of the globe, as well as their own significant potential in the sphere of preventive diplomacy. At the same time, it was the United Nations which bore the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. While it acknowledged the independence of the mandates of individual organizations, the Republic of Belarus, on the basis of Article 53 of the Charter of the United Nations, considered inadmissible any unilateral enforcement action carried out by regional arrangements, especially in the military sphere, without the relevant authorization of, or circumventing, the Security Council. At the same time, his country welcomed the contribution of regional arrangements, in particular the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which, acting in coordination and close contact with the United Nations, were making a significant contribution to the settlement of conflicts in their respective regions. Belarus was in favour of the further development of mechanisms for regular coordination and consultation between the United Nations and regional arrangements at different levels and supported the practice of holding meetings between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the leaders of those organizations, the most recent of which had taken place in July 1998.

58. The Republic of Belarus welcomed the efforts of the United Nations Secretariat and Member States to further enhance the system of standby arrangements. Considering the effective functioning of that system to be one of the key prerequisites for rapid response to emerging conflicts, it believed that the system should be more widely used in the deployment of new peacekeeping operations. At the same time, his delegation was concerned at the delays in the staffing and financing of the rapidly deployable mission headquarters, which, if provided with adequate resources,

could significantly strengthen the standby arrangements system. The Republic of Belarus was also actively analysing the experience of the participation of other States Members of the Organization in peacekeeping operations with a view to providing its national police, civilian specialists, political experts and election monitors to serve in traditional peacekeeping operations of a non-enforcement nature.

59. **Mr. Kelaotswe** (Botswana) said that the world today was characterized by many complex internal conflicts. The work of the United Nations in the sphere of peacekeeping, which had previously dealt primarily with inter-State conflicts, was now faced with the need for new approaches and strategies to address intra-State conflicts. Those new and largely experimental peacekeeping operations had had mixed results. Success had been achieved in some cases, when the parties to the conflict had recognized the United Nations as an honest mediator, as in the case of Mozambique. There had, however, been some failures in peacekeeping operations in which the authority of the United Nations had not been respected or in which the mission, or some Member States participating in it, had been regarded with suspicion. The international community, especially the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, should never tire in its search for permanent solutions to situations which had the potential to threaten regional peace and security in various parts of the world.

60. While in future United Nations peacekeeping operations great importance would be attached to national reconciliation as a basis for lasting peace, a situation in which reconciliation and national healing were impossible in the existing circumstances should also be foreseen. In other words, when warring factions were not amenable to national reconciliation, recourse should still be had to traditional peacekeeping operations.

61. His delegation fully shared the view that the United Nations should cooperate with regional bodies such as the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and with subregional organizations such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). However, that cooperation, or the peacekeeping efforts of those regional bodies, should not be regarded as an alternative to the role that should be played by the United Nations Security Council in conflict situations. According to the Charter of the United Nations, the Security Council bore the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Security Council should therefore play a leading role in the settlement of all conflicts, regardless of where they occurred, and regional efforts should be complementary to the Council's obligations under the Charter.

62. His delegation was fully appreciative of the work done by the United Nations in peacekeeping. The Organization should drastically improve the system for the adoption of measures in response to conflict situations in order to counteract the emerging perception that African problems were not problems for the international community. Ultimately, the success or failure of United Nations peacekeeping operations rested with the Member States. The success of any peacekeeping operation depended on a number of interrelated factors, but adequate funding was of paramount importance. That meant that Member States should pay their assessed contributions to the peacekeeping budget of the United Nations on time and without any conditions.

63. **Mr. Dausa** (Cuba) said that, in his delegation's opinion, the work of the Special Committee had undoubtedly reached a turning point owing to a number of factors, including the increasing number of conflicts of various kinds over the past few years, the actions of the Security Council, the over-expansion of the peacekeeping mechanisms by the Security Council, and a more active participation by Member States in the work of the Special Committee. It should be noted that the Special Committee's membership had been enlarged and that its members were trying to enhance the effectiveness of its work.

64. Peacekeeping operations constituted a useful instrument in helping to settle conflicts and prevent their expansion. There were a number of principles that could not be ignored, however. They included respect for States' sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence and non-interference in their internal affairs. The parties' consent and impartiality were also essential. Respecting and implementing such principles contributed to the success of operations. Moreover, questions like clear and well-defined mandates and the need to establish a clear-cut distinction between peacekeeping operations and humanitarian assistance were also of paramount importance. At the same time, there was no overlooking the fact that the causes of the conflicts affecting international peace and security were related in most cases to such factors as poverty and socio-economic underdevelopment. Consequently, the international community, especially former colonial Powers or countries that had reached high levels of development should help to eliminate the underlying causes of conflicts.

65. His delegation supported the idea of providing the Organization with dynamic mechanisms so that when a

peacekeeping operation was decided upon, it could be put in place without delay. It considered that the ideal instrument in that respect was the standby force arrangement system, which should be further developed and which was based on contributions from individual Member States.

66. In the context of efforts to secure a more dynamic deployment of peacekeeping operations, the Special Committee had requested the Secretary-General to organize a rapidly deployable mission headquarters. Although his delegation supported the principle of building capacity for more dynamic deployment of peacekeeping operations, it was nevertheless aware that the structure, composition and functionality continued to be a subject of reservations among many delegations. The question therefore needed further consideration. The financial and personnel aspects added to its complexity. It should not be forgotten that the question of establishing a headquarters had come before the Special Committee in 1995, and that since that time the situation had changed considerably, with a decline of authorized mandates, the completion of numerous missions, a reduction of the total number of troops in the field and a worsening of the Organization's financial situation.

67. The proposal for the establishment of a rapidly deployable mission headquarters gave rise to many questions: whether the concept remained valid with the initially formulated parameters, whether it would be better to use all the human resources of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations for streamlining, consolidating and improving the planning functions and to carry out the headquarters functions with those resources, and whether the Secretariat was right to want to finance the rapidly deployable mission headquarters through prorated contributions from Member States, thereby transforming the original financing concept. All those questions required further consideration, and the Special Committee's session in 1999 would provide the appropriate setting.

68. *Mr. Hrbac (Slovakia), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

69. **Mr. Droushiotis** (Cyprus) said that the peacekeeping operation was a key element in the Organization's efforts to maintain international peace and security. Currently, peacekeeping operations were multidimensional and complex, covering a variety of security-enhancing activities. The Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations had achieved fruitful results at its 1998 session.

70. As early as December 1963, faced with the threat of intervention by Turkey, his Government had appealed to the United Nations for assistance. Pursuant to Security Council resolution 186 (1964), with the consent of the Government of Cyprus, the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) had been established and a United Nations mediator appointed. In 1965 the mediator had submitted an exemplary report, which, if accepted by all concerned, would have solved the problem and eliminated the need for UNFICYP. Following the 1974 invasion and the forcible division of the island, the Security Council and the General Assembly had unanimously adopted resolutions demanding respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Cyprus and the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops. In the changed circumstances, UNFICYP had adjusted its mandate and supervised the ceasefire, and it was still fulfilling its role admirably. Yet the Cyprus problem still remained unsolved, despite the adoption of countless resolutions at the United Nations, including binding resolutions of the Security Council. The Cyprus example was the best proof that an intense peacemaking effort must be pursued in parallel with every peacekeeping operation.

71. The lesson to be drawn from the Cyprus peacekeeping efforts was that, as long as one of the parties was unwilling to comply with the dictates of the international community, as spelt out in unanimously adopted and binding resolutions of the Security Council, and as long as members of the international community were unwilling or unable to act effectively to implement the resolutions for which they had voted, peacemaking would be ineffective and would perpetuate the problem. The answer, however, lay not in abandoning the peace effort, but, in the face of the intransigence of one side, to pursue effective peacemaking through the implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions by all available means. That was especially true in the case of Cyprus. Peacekeeping and peacemaking were complementary, and when the peacemaking strategy faltered on account of one party, the Security Council should act promptly and effectively to redress the situation. It should be emphasized that effective peacekeeping operations must rest on a sure and stable financial footing.

72. **Ms. Ramiro Lopez** (Philippines) said that in the fiftieth year of peacekeeping operations, the Philippines wished to renew its commitment to peacekeeping. The review of the whole question of peacekeeping operations would be conducted against the backdrop of complex and far-reaching international events and transformations. Now, as humanity approached the new millennium, it was still burdened by old animosities and longstanding differences. The end of the cold war, advances in communications and the increased prosperity brought by globalization, while contributing to the consolidation of peace among nations, had not served to end rivalries and religious strife. In that context, the Philippines wished to join other States in expressing concern that the member countries of the

Non-Aligned Movement were not adequately represented among the staff of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO). One way of addressing that problem was the phasing out of the use of gratis personnel. It was to be hoped that that move would be complemented by rationalization of the Department's staffing structure and that the resources required to carry out that measure would be made available. In that connection, the Philippines stressed that all Member States must pay their assessed contributions on time, in full and without conditions. The Philippines also supported the proposal that the process of selecting DPKO staff should be transparent and that the number of women should be increased through innovative strategies. The Philippines was confident that, with a more balanced staffing structure, the Department would be better able to carry out more complex and varied missions.

73. The nature of most of the present and future situations which might call for peacekeeping operations was such that those operations would need to be rapidly deployed. The Philippines supported the concept of standby arrangements and rapid deployment. It stood ready to participate in that system.

74. Continuing tensions were still drawing States into conflicts and diverting attention and resources away from the development process. Regional cooperation in conflict situations remained the key to managing potential conflicts. In that regard, the Philippines supported the call for greater regional participation in maintaining international peace and security, with the United Nations continuing to play a leading role.

75. *Mr. Macedo (Mexico) resumed the Chair.*

76. **Mr. Skračić** (Croatia) stressed that Croatia was no stranger to questions relating to peacekeeping, in that it had hosted five United Nations peacekeeping operations. Currently, Croatia was once again taking a leading role among those involved in regional monitoring initiatives through a new arrangement with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which had been invited to continue carrying out certain monitoring duties in Eastern Slavonia. His Government welcomed the decision by the European Union and its member States to participate in the Donor's Conference on Reconstruction and Development for Croatia, scheduled for 4–5 December 1998. The Croatian Ministry of Reconstruction and Development had presented a comprehensive national reconstruction plan, and he urged all countries to consider contributing, financially or in kind, to its implementation.

77. The reasons for the successes and failures of each mission in Croatia were manifold. Croatia believed that the United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium (UNTAES) had succeeded, unlike the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO), owing to a number of factors, not least of which were the provision of a clear and achievable mandate from the Security Council and a clear willingness on the part of the United Nations and its Member States to implement it. As peacekeeping operations became ever more demanding and multifaceted, it was vital that the Security Council should measure the specificities of each situation against the options available before deciding upon a course of action.

78. Conscious of its debt to the international community, Croatia had formally notified the Secretary-General of its intention to join the ranks of States that contributed troops to peacekeeping operations. It hoped that a memorandum of understanding could be concluded with the United Nations Secretariat in the near future with a view to identifying those troops from among Croatia's armed forces which could be made available to the standby arrangements system. Croatia also supported the idea of establishing a Standby Forces High Readiness Brigade.

79. Croatia believed that regional organizations were often in a better position to predict and react to potential crisis situations and, therefore, to act as mediators or otherwise ascertain the best course of action. Croatia considered that cooperation with regional organizations should be in line with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, although the extent of the role played by regional organizations should depend on the seriousness of the crisis. Croatia was also of the opinion that the best way to avert a crisis was to take appropriate, early measures when faced with potential crisis situations which might have regional or international repercussions.

80. Croatia supported the decision of the General Assembly to phase out the use of gratis personnel by February 1999, and stressed that the recruitment of the staff of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations should be conducted in a transparent manner, on the broadest possible geographical basis, with special attention being paid to those countries which were underrepresented in the Secretariat. His delegation strongly supported the institutionalization of consultations between troop-contributing countries and the United Nations Security Council and its members, and considered that those consultations should not be restrictive and should include, whenever appropriate, countries which would be particularly affected and other countries from the region concerned, including host countries, in order to guarantee closer and more harmonious cooperation with

peacekeeping missions. Croatia hoped that the Special Committee's 1999 report would contain adequate reference to host countries.

81. **Mr. Yousefi** (Islamic Republic of Iran) confirmed his country's commitment and willingness to provide support to the United Nations peacekeeping system with a view to ensuring its successful operation. His delegation associated itself with the statement made by the representative of Jordan in his capacity as chairman of the working group on peacekeeping operations of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The invaluable experience of the past clearly illustrated the fact that the impartiality of peacekeeping forces, the consent of the warring parties and the non-use of force except in cases of self-defence, as well as non-interference in the internal affairs of the States concerned, were of paramount importance for the success of any operation. To that end, peacekeeping operations should have clearly defined mandates, objectives and command structure, and secure financing.

82. United Nations peacekeeping operations should reflect the collective efforts of the Organization's membership for the maintenance of international peace and security, with Member States being offered equal opportunities for the widest participation in all aspects of such operations. All offers by Member States regarding troop contributions should be evaluated on a transparent and non-discriminatory basis. The Islamic Republic of Iran underlined the positive role which concerned States, such as troop-contributing and neighbouring countries, could play in bringing about ceasefires and restoring peace in war-ravaged regions, and supported the idea of active involvement by those States in the related consultations and discussions conducted in the Security Council. The Islamic Republic of Iran welcomed the proposal of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations concerning the assessment mission which the United Nations Mine Action Unit and United Nations agencies proposed to conduct in its territory.

83. **Mr. Apunte** (Ecuador) said that peacekeeping operations were among the most important instruments used by the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security, in that they embodied the principle of international cooperation conducted with a view to attaining the Organization's main objectives. At the same time, it should be noted that peacekeeping operations were not of themselves the best method of settling internal or international conflicts, in that the most reliable means were such mechanisms as dialogue and negotiation. Peacekeeping operations should be considered not as the rule but rather as the exception to the rule, and accordingly preference should be given to preventive measures, and in particular attention should be focused on the socio-economic development of States.

84. Turning to the subject of training personnel as the most effective means of enabling many countries to build up appropriate experience in the peacekeeping field, he said that Ecuador welcomed the Secretariat's work in that area, which enabled States to formulate a clearer and more comprehensive idea of peacekeeping operations and contributed to the necessary measures being taken to ensure their participation in the related international activity. Ecuador had taken part in a number of peacekeeping operations, and intended to consider new opportunities to take part in that activity in the future, contributing both military personnel and civilian police. In its report, the Special Committee had noted the importance of taking account of civilian police elements in the framework of peacekeeping operations, and had taken note of Secretariat plans to develop a detailed concept of operations for civilian police components of peacekeeping operations.

85. Ecuador supported the Secretary-General's efforts to strengthen cooperation between the United Nations and regional bodies with the aim of expanding the capabilities of the international community in the area of maintaining international peace and security. What was particularly important was the Secretary-General's readiness to revive the practice of holding consultations on questions of cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations. Ecuador considered that in many cases the countries of a region, which were better informed regarding the causes of crises and regarding internal problems, were able to facilitate the most effective settlement of regional conflicts.

86. **Mr. Pohan** (Indonesia) said that his country's participation in peacekeeping operations was a manifestation of the serious sense of responsibility flowing from its 1945 Constitution. Indonesia continued to extend its firm support to the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations as the only appropriate forum for the comprehensive review of the whole question of peacekeeping operations in all their aspects. In the post-cold-war period, that activity needed to be reappraised with a view to adopting more effective and innovative approaches to peacekeeping operations.

87. It should be recalled that the objective of the "first generation" of such United Nations operations had been to contain conflicts and use military forces on a cooperative and non-forceful basis. Given the complexities involved in implementing multidimensional peace agreements, the "second generation" of peacekeeping operations had underscored the need to secure the consent of the parties

involved. The "third generation" of peacekeeping operations did not require the consent of one or more parties to some or all of the decisions of the Security Council. In most cases, such operations required giving up neutrality and laying oneself open to accusations of violating national sovereignty. Indonesia emphasized that in recent years efforts by the United Nations to contain and terminate armed conflicts had strained the Organization's financial and institutional capacity.

88. As a result of the increasingly difficult situation which the United Nations had had to face in the maintenance of international peace and security, it was seeking cooperation with regional arrangements and agencies. Indonesia believed that regional organizations could play an active role in enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness of United Nations efforts for peace without intervening in matters that were the internal affair of States. For cooperation in peacekeeping operations to be successful, it must abide by the letter and spirit of Chapter VIII of the Charter and take into account the existing instruments and mechanisms operating in each of the regional organizations concerned. The basic principles governing United Nations peacekeeping operations must also guide peacekeeping operations undertaken by regional organizations on behalf of or in cooperation with the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.